People used their knowledge of food properties to ameliorate their physical condition. During lactation, for instance, women ate vegetables or not "depending on the condition of the baby," for breast milk was very easily affected by adverse properties. In the broader context of general dietary needs, people entertained ideas about the suitability of certain foods to certain ages, sexes, occupations, conditions, and occasions (Hauck, et al: 42-50). Nevertheless, persons often risked an undesirable effect in food for pleasure. The proper banana variety for ritual use was the tiny kluai nam, yet it was not planted much in Bang Chan because the people "did not like the taste." They substituted the "pleasant-tasting" kluai nam wā. Here orthodoxy came off second. The heat of alcoholic drink relished by men and older women often pressed the margin of safe temperature control. The cobra--turtle--or chicken--plus--alcohol feasts exemplified how readily the elders gambled even on the increment of sin from eating meat, or risked an over-heated temper, for the joy of eating such cherished delicacies.

Food dislikes, if temporary, reflected an imbalance of elements; if usual, an individual constitutional set of the person's elements. To eat disliked food was therefore positively harmful. To urge someone to eat disliked food was wrong.[16]

Illness

All illness, anxiety, and soul loss was caused by intrusions from outside the body. The intrusion might be from a supernatural source (wiset:powerful) or natural (tām thammachāt) (Textor:10) but in either case the result was the same: disruption of the elements. Anxiety, whether caused by a social situation such as fear of frustration, by a broken bone or by a fever, also was a disruption of balance. An attack by the supernatural disease missile, "khun"[17] gave rise to the classic symptoms of wind-excess: "a man cried all the time and had flatulency." Elements were also disorganized by spirit attack. The victim suffered hysteria, paroxysm, flatulence, convulsion,

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16. Phillips (p. 65) reported that parents did not give their child a disliked medicine because "it offends him.... It is better not to give it to him than hurt his feelings."

17. This small skin missile invaded the body and then expanded to the size of a buffalo. Intentional attack (sorcery) might kill; accidental, merely pained (cf. Textor:116-127). Suspected khun was one of the few reasons why a family would authorize so grave a violation of the body of a deceased member as an autopsy.

Now that the fire was going nicely and Dūan was "ready to warm her body," the all-important prayer and incantation "to control the hotness and poison" of the fire had to be pronounced lest the mother's body be "swollen or burned." Sāi took raw rice, salt, and alcoholic liquor[36] in her mouth, chewed them, and sprayed them over the fire and over Dūan's body three times, saying "Spirit of the Fire and Wind, may both mother and baby be cool and happy!" and murmuring her secret formula with ancient Pali words about "great fire" and "death."[37] With the shoulder cloth (sabaichiang) that she always wore to the temple draped diagonally over her left shoulder and under her right arm, Dūan knelt and faced the fire. Praying for happiness to the Mothers of the Fire, Fire-floor, and Wind, and finally to the Lord Buddha, the Holy Brotherhood of Priests, and the Sacred Law, she bowed, hands clasped, and touched the floor three times with her forehead. Then she rose and lay down on the plank with the holy fire on her right side.

As Dūan was resting quietly, Sāi made three "taping fruits" (lūk prakhop), balls of tamarind leaves, phlai, and salt wrapped in cloth. One was put well up between Dūan's legs to cure the birth wound (phlāe). The other two were set aside for use on subsequent days. Sāi painted the baby's tongue with alcoholic medicine, and from her fingers dropped a little honey and boiled water into his mouth. Then she laid him on his tray on the floor close by Dūan, on the side away from the fire.

With satisfaction of a job well done, Sāi and Lek sat together for a quiet chew of betel. "Lek," said Sāi, "has it occurred to you on what a good day this boy has been born? It is a Saturday, so he will have power. Nothing, nobody, can hurt him! Once I delivered a boy on that best

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36. Alcohol was heating; rice, strengthening. Salt appears to be drying.

37. The deities addressed were māe phra phlōeng and māe phra phai. Another Pali-Thai magic formula to control fire was: "Phra Mōk Khan Lā Nō will extinguish the fire from hell, na mō phut tha ya." Phra Mogdallana, one of the two most faithful disciples of Buddha, caused the fires of hell to go out (cf. Anuman Rajadhon 1961:137). The na mō...etc. was a traditional phrase to prevent spiritual dangers and is a repetition of the names of the Buddha in five incarnations, past and future (cf. Textor 1960:483-485).

date of all, Sao Hā Day, one Saturday in April, which was the fifth day of the waxing moon of the fifth month, in the year of the Big Snake. That boy is truly blessed. He will be the best and most respected doctor or teacher. He is in school now and people are always telling him he is bright. Chāi came on a Monday, so he'll be charming, but, alas, always roaming away from home! This new little son has his mother's features, which is as desirable as a daughter's having her father's features. Still, no one knows what characteristics come from a parent. One more thing, Dūan. Now you may take medicine as you please." Shortly after, Sāi took leave until the next day.

The new mother turned her face toward the fire and tried to sleep. It was night. Lek was close by, and Song slept in his mosquito net near Chāi's cradle. The fire was so hot it kept waking Dūan. Though the smoke made her eyes smart it kept the mosquitoes away. In spite of the discomfort, Dūan was eager to have the fire as hot as she could stand it, for this heat and that of the medicine would dry her uterus, rid her of the bad blood and waters of childbirth, restore her strength and stimulate her milk. She forced herself to drink as much hot boiled water as possible to keep out the dreaded wind element that might get into her body and cool her. When, however, the fire was overpowering, she dripped water from a handy jar with a cloth.

The next day, Sāi returned. With warm, boiled water she bathed Dūan--this time the upper part of her body also--and the baby. The boiled water was much more important for the mother, but being available, was used for the baby, too. Sāi washed the soiled clothing and the baby's little cloths. Turmeric was again painted on both Dūan's and the baby's abdomen, head, and neck to protect from wind. Sāi questioned and examined Dūan. Measuring a handspan down from Duan's groin, she pressed outward gently. "I want to see if these particular ligaments on the thigh are joined. They are often damaged and do not heal if the time by the fire is too short. Some mothers cannot walk at all. They have to call a masseur for regular treatment." To "make the ligaments well," she tapped Duan's body all over with the second of the tapping-fruit balls and had her sit on one while bathing. She massaged the muscles, stiff from lying quietly near the fire, by pressing in the ball with her hands and even feet. Medicinal herbs were warmed and laid on Dūan's breasts so that the "useless early milk [colostrum] which would give diarrhea" could be worked out and thrown away. "The real milk is not ready for the baby until the third day," Sāi said, "but if the baby is crying much, and if there is milk some mothers start nursing on the second day."

Almost from the moment of his birth, whenever the baby

853 cried, Lek had dribbled from her finger warm boiled water into his mouth. Now she mashed up for him a little kluāi namwā banana, honey, and water. Song happened to pass as he was going to work and saying, "Let me give it to my son this first time," took the child in his arms, and pushed it gently in with his fingers. "This variety of banana does not cool, or give diarrhea because its tissue is harder. Uncooked is better than baked because it is easier for the baby to swallow," said Lek, "but baked food is incompatible if wind is in the body." Then she painted medicine on the baby's tongue with a feather.

Dūan turned to Lek. "Who would be the best person to start my child on good nursing habits?" Lek mentioned a relative who had much milk for her handsome child. This woman gladly came to give the baby his first suck

Sāi came the third day for the same duties. It was the last day for her, unless something serious happened. Dūan's milk came in somewhat that day. She asked, "Is it true, as people say, that the 2 breasts give milk of different consistency, that one is water and the other rice?" Sāi answered, "That is an old saying. The important thing is to feed from both breasts at each nursing. Here is medicine for the baby of honey, charred betel leaf, and water. Give it 3 times a day to cool his neck. His medicine is mostly to cool him slowly; yours is to keep you hot on the inside, while the fire warms you outside. Both are to keep out wind. Dūan, I would suggest 13 days by the fire, but you are the one to decide. It was 15 for your first child, but each time can be less. Be sure it is an odd number of days. My, women are certainly making it short these days! My first fire-rest was 27 days. And think of all the changes coming in! That trader-woman across the canal is using one of those small hot-ashes pots on her stomach. She is lying on a mat under her net, with her new baby. Her 2 other little children come in and out! No fire at all! I have heard they use rubber hot water bottles and electric warming devices in Bangkok. Well, it probably is all right provided there is heat, but to have plenty of milk and strength to work in the fields, then you have to lie by a real fire. The longer you stay, the stronger you are. Bangkok ladies do not have to farm! They want the fire for the fine pale golden color it gives their skin (cf. footnote, p. 71)! Well, now I shall take my final leave." She reached up and took her khwan khāo bowl. Smiling, she left the house.

[278] 846 [177]

From then on, Lek and Mī were certainly busy, caring for both children, doing things for Dūan, boiling up quantities of water, and cooking. Song put the wood on

854 mosquitos, but then Song bought in Mīnburī a bamboo frame with be-flowered netting. He also bought little mits to tie onto the baby's hands, so the fingers would not be sucked. Not every baby got these! Most of the time the baby lay naked, but was wrapped when nursed. One cool day they put over him a thick blanket. Lek, Dūan, or Song bathed him in boiled water 3 times a day and always after his excretions, which were wiped off with cloths. Then fresh cloth was put under him. On the seventh day since he was thriving
[856] he was bathed in ordinary rain water. Every day Lek vigor-
ously squeezed his fingers and legs "to make them straight,"
which made him yell each time. To speed the drying of the
[278] cord, a charred leaf of betel pepper was applied for a
while to his navel on which Dūan spit saliva several times
a day.

853 Dūan's milk supply was only fair. For milk stimulation
they pressed her nipples and kept the fire hot. She was
[262] also taking daily a special nursing curry of banana flower
and vegetables (khaēng līang). One day she ate a cobra
curry. A neighbor offered to help nurse the baby but Duan
[854] refused. "It is a pitiful sight to see one's child at
another's breast." Whenever the baby wailed he was given
boiled water but was not necessarily at once picked up. If
his crying continued, however, Dūan washed her breasts with
warm water, pressed out and threw away a little milk,
moistened the baby's lips with water, then lifted him on
the pillow to her plank. She laid him beside her and
leaned over him to nurse, though occasionally took him in
her arms. He was nursed about 10 times a day, and also
received honey, boiled water, and a bit of banana, too.
[278] One day the baby cried a lot, so they painted him with
turmeric and gave him baked cobra tail in alcohol to warm
him up.

846 As to her own diet, Dūan followed the usual practice
262 of limiting herself rigidly to rice with salt, dried fish,
and baked klūai namwā banana. Egg was too cooling:
"like glutinous rice, it brought pus to the unhealed cord
and the vaginal wound." Dūan also avoided "jam" bean
which caused madness, fruit, and sweets. Whatever she ate
affected her child by secreting into her milk. If she
were sick, he would be so too. If he alone became ill,
she must watch the foods both he and she ate. All these
food instructions would stop only when nursing stopped a
year or two later.

846 Duan decided to stay only 11 days by the fire,
though Sāi had said 13 and she would have liked to stay
longer. However, she wanted to get back to work because
the transplanting season was approaching. Besides, the

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775 Moreover, her life would some day begin again. Whether birth
844 was rapid or slow, the experience of the suffering deepened her sense of compassion and, as will be shown, brought her closer to fulfillment of her life role.[41]

Habit

153 If mutual help organized relationships, habit (khōei)
82 stabilized them. Khōai means "to be used to, accustomed to,
853 habituated." A first occurrence was an example and set the pattern for all subsequent occurrences. With one performance one was accustomed to an action. For instance, shortly after
[761] the temple was built 2 people died, deaths in Bang Chan "always occurred in pairs;" it was the temple's "habit." Moverover, "the head priest could never expel a priest because he had never done so." Again, a few women saw to it that during this period their babies were given a few grains of rice (even though they were far too young to be offered any rice regularly), so that "later on, if they got sick, they could always at least eat rice," for "they would be used
[171] to it." "Glutinous rice was not good for babies in Bang Chan, but in North Thailand [where it was a staple] it could be eaten because people were used to it." Someone had set the example which started the custom.

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844 41. Bang Chan's Buddhist phrasing of the meaning of pain and
154 death in childbirth seems to indicate that childbirth occurred
171 under psycho-cultural conditions that induced relaxation and
114 reduced fear and pain. An "easy" delivery lasted 2 hours. According to a modern medical theory, ©Dick-Read: Childbirth Without Fear, passim) lack of fear of childbirth leads to mental and physical relaxation which in turn reduces pain and labor. Dr. Dan Bradley observed that labor was shorter among Siamese women than among non-Siamese. "Facts seem to prove that parturition is both shorter and easier to Siamese mothers than is usual to Europeans and Americans" (Bradley, 1865:79). We accept his first-hand observation because he had 40 or more years of experience in delivering babies, both Thai and non-Thai (missionary wives, etc.), and suggest that it may be taken as proof of mental and physical relaxation derived from lack of fear. Although the missionary women may have been frightened because they were in a far country, Dick-Read argues that fear of childbirth has long been present among American women and this fear has the effect of longer, harder labor.

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A major clustering of first experiences, and so of habit formation, was in intra-uterine existence. Every experience of the mother was shared by the fetus. After birth, a baby daily formed habits of eating, sleeping, and crying, and later, as a child, habits of respect, obedience, truth-telling, etc. To create good habits efforts were bent to control and ameliorate any first experience: to make it as correct as possible; to seek out favorable astrological moments; to ask auspicious, skilled, or learned persons to be part of the initial action. An example was the establishment of nursing. When the baby was put to the breast the first time, the objective was not nourishment but to establish a good habit, viz. copious and strong sucking from an ample milk supply. Only after this first nursing did breast-milk as nourishment become important. If on this occasion he did not nurse well, he would have the habit of eating poorly all his life. Moreover, whatever the mother's experience with her first-born, it would not only be repeated every time he nursed, but set the nursing pattern for all subsequent children she bore. For her first-born, though, a mother would have had no previous experience of making milk. She had to be taught, or shown, how to make good milk, just as the baby had to be taught to suck, and later taught to eat rice. Consequently, the first-born baby was almost always first nursed by another person (not necessarily a kinswoman) with copious milk. Then 2 or 3 days later, because the example had been set, good milk came in and the mother started nursing. What was to be avoided at all costs was a first suck of colostrum, which appeared to be "unfit, early milk" from an insufficiently lactating breast. This would be a poor precedent. Until a mother decided her milk was right for nursing, a baby subsisted usually on honey and water, and maybe a little crushed banana. If a woman were not satisfied with her nursing capacities for her first-born child, when the second child was born she might ask another lactating woman to give the baby a first nursing so as to improve her own habit.[42] One woman flatly said her own milk was always unfit as proved by her babies' health, so she used a bottle of (canned) cow's milk from the start. She felt she had the habit

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42. Bradley (79-80) felt that the dehydration attendant on lying by the hot fire significantly reduced the quantity and quality of the milk.

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[846]

153 of making poor milk. Any woman whose milk flowed early and
853 well needed no example, for she was seen as having the habit as an in-born characteristic so deeply ingrained that it came through from a previous incarnation.[43] After nursing was established by the mother, babies were not often given over to another woman's breast because they were reputed to refuse it, "being not used to it."

In sum, the nursing patterns in Bang Chan varied with the previous lactating experience (if any) of the mother, and the ordinal position of her children.

Hauck shows the old way of establishing good eating
[262] habits in a baby. "If a mother ate small amounts of many
[846] different kinds of foods while lying by the fire, the child would not get diarrhea when he ate these foods for the first time" (1959:14). Through the beneficial effects of the fire, any deleterious qualities of the foods were eliminated (as we shall see in "The Fire of Maturity") and the child had his first experience with these foods in the breast milk.

153 Bang Chan's life was full of secondary opportunities for starting new habits. Every rice crop, every boat purchased, every house built, and all the rites of the life cycle could, if handled properly, start a fresh and fortunate sequence on its way. We shall have more to say of this in discussing maturity.

789 Imitation
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The familiar principle of imitation (Anuman Rajadhon: 154), the influence of like making for like, operated throughout daily life in Bang Chan. An action, event or presence emanated an analogous influence on its surroundings. A woman returned from a visit to the midwife with all possible speed in order to achieve a speedy delivery of her child a few weeks hence. Another pregnant woman visited the temple on the final day of the rainy-season Buddhist

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[829] 43. Bradley's informants gave an example of a deeply ingrained habit: "European and American mothers can better dispense [with the fire-rest] because their own mothers from time immemorial have never been in the practice of the custom, and consequently their constitutions do not at all require it (p.79)."

562 delivery, "her blood was purified to a white color to become
[827] the milk of the breast."[48] Nursing a child was the essence
•[853] of a woman's function, the supremely feminine act. A priest said, "A mother mercifully receives the khwan into her womb, and for maintaining life gives more of her own body, strength, and care (i.e. than does the father). Mothers are born to love children. Theirs is a steady intent to provide children with successful existences. To a mother one is most grateful" (S.S.).

562 In a wider context, not only all their household members
462 but people anywhere were the objects of women's nurture:
252 women were in charge of the cooking even if occasionally
264 helped by men. At the meals they prepared they were often the last to eat, so often "holding back and eating whatever was left over," that in a poor houshold, short rationing daily was probable (Hauck, et al.:35,49). One old lady expressed deep satisfaction that she "did not feel hungry any more." She construed this as proof that she had ample
[782] merit, but it also meant that she was a great donor who gave
[431] continuously and took little. Women usually offered the
[796] early morning food to priests in behalf of the family, and they took charge of cooking the immense amount of food served at large ceremonies and temple festivities. When
593 age pushed women past their mature capacities, they returned
888 to the status of recipients. A son said of his senile mother, "She has gone back to being a child" (klap pai pen dek). The son's wife cooked delicacies for her.

562 A desire to give tender care and nourishment was deemed
857 inborn in all women. Although sex was not strongly
[291] differentiated in babyhood,[49] by age 3 a hard-to-handle
[593] skirt was put on a tiny girl, who reacted with vast pride. By 5, girls were helping with cooking and baby tending. Often has an older sister of 9 or 12 been observed patiently feeding her charge the ice cream she longed to eat herself.

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[822] 48. This very phrase was congruent with the colors associated with the khwan. Red or white flags, or pieces of cloth, or puddings (khanom) were required wherever khwan were involved, such as in rice, san phra phûm, and tham khwan ceremonies. Red was an auspicious color, white symbolized innocence and purity.

[856] 49. Anuman Rajadhon reports, though, that at the moment of birth, the child's sex was immediately "adjusted" (Anuman Rajadhon:127).

Only when the youngster was satiated did she gobble the remainder.[50] Parents often commented that girls in general were obedient and good, but boys were not. Everyone spoke, however, of exceptions. The capacity to play the female role grew with the child. It was not completed with the physiological maturity of first menstruation but only with ritual maturity.

The rituals to fit a woman for her office, described as "directly related to the welfare of the child," had 4 specific purposes. They perfected her as a compassionate being; restored and strengthened her body; improved her capacities as a nourisher; and strengthened her own khwan. The key to each of these aims was the holy fire.[51] Because actions taken by the fire were immediately and permanently effective, every effort was made to induce auspicious happenings. Words spoken by the fire had compelling effect so even ordinary speech became magical. Speaking of the fire's hotness so raised its heat that a mother was burned. For this reason, uninformed or careless visitors like children or foreigners were a danger.

According to Buddhist thinking, suffering developed compassion. Through the discomfort of pregnancy, followed by the anguish of childbirth and the heat of the fire, a woman became compassionate and so achieved the guide-line for moral behavior. Then a woman was sure to be touched with pity for the younger or less fortunate. One teacher despite the inconvenience went home twice a day from school to nurse her new baby because she "pitied" him too much to hire a wet-nurse. It was "pitiful" to see a child at another woman's breast for it implied that its mother was either unwilling or unable to nurse it. Thus, babies were rarely nursed by others than their own mothers.

The fire also strengthened a woman by ridding her of bad blood and foul fluids. Wind and Fire, the 2 spirit guardians of the elements necessary to the occasion, were invoked to assist in the drying of the uterus. In addition, strengthening

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50. Boys too fed their younger siblings but their purpose was a power-play: "to assure obedience in the future" (cf. Hanks and Phillips:648).

51. This fire was kept entirely separate from the one for cooking and boiling of water. It was ritually lit and ritually extinguished at the end of the fire-rest.

795 phlai and bamboo cutter under the house "so the child would
844 not roam away from home." The circumcision (akiko) per-
formed up to the eleventh year, allied a child to a human
795 group. "Circumcision is to accept the new-born baby into
the status of human beings" In a corresponding ceremony
304 for girls, the To Iman "cut a little piece of the labia."
852 However, some Muslims had the full winnowing ceremony per-
formed. If it were not, the child was raised aloft in the
851 midwife's hands with the words, "Mother Sī, Mother Sāk,
may this child be cool and happy!" The new-born baby was
then laid in a cloth cradle. Fruits were hung over the
795 tray or cradle. If a lactating Muslim mother accepted an-
other's child to nurse, the 2 babies had to be of the same
853 sex "lest later in life they marry, in which case theirs
852 would be an incestuous, brother-sister marriage." The
608 Buddhists entertained no such idea, so nursed babies of
either sex as needed. A Muslim view of colostrum as "like
pus from a sore" carried a more negative overtone than the
Buddhist's statement: "At first the mother's milk is too
dilute to be useful."

795 At the annual homage of a Muslim midwife to her
759 teacher each of her patients of the year sent a kilogram
of sugar, one coconut, one or 2 liters of glutinous rice,
and a hen (if a baby girl had been born) or a rooster (if
a boy). The chicken was killed by the midwife and made
into curries for mosque officials (men) invited to the
ceremony. The incense and candles were burned "while she
thinks of her teacher."

might provide clues to ways in which the diet may be improved. Most of these items were included in lists given by Sharp et al. (1953)[1]. To those lists should be added the following items from our food records:

Green leafy and yellow vegetables: Leaves of bergamot, chili, morinda, onion, potato, pumpkin, (2)sa-(5)noo, and of the following trees: (2)ma-(1)dan, (4)khlyb[2] and West Indian pea tree; (2)kha-(1)cauaun flowers.

Other vegetables: flowers of leek and pumpkin, and Chinese or black truffle (water chestnut).

Fruits: Thai nutmeg and tomato.

Fresh foods other than fish: buffalo, duck, cobra, turtle and field rat.

At the end of Chart 2, sources of water for drinking and food preparation have been included, not only because water is properly considered a nutrient, but also because the water used in preparation of food may affect the wholesomeness of foods eaten raw or with little cooking.

Untreated water was the customary beverage with meals. Ordinarily no distinction was made in source of drinking water for children and adults although boiled water was given to mothers and infants to drink during the post partum rest period (Hauck, 1956). Occasionally a sick person would be given boiled water to drink; for example one man who said he was "a little sick" and "not working" was observed to drink hot boiled water from a thermos bottle. In 1955, Ralis[3] found that tea was seldom or never drunk by nearly 3/4 of the respondents. Less than 7% drank it frequently. Thus in Bang Chan no custom had grown up which would afford the general population with a measure of protection against infection from

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1. See Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 193-196 for a list of 32 fish known to be found in Bang Chan; pp. 293-294 for 34 fruits grown in Bang Chan, and p. 295 for 11 fruits known to be used but not grown there; pp. 296-298 for 41 vegetables grown in Bang Chan, and pp. 299-300 for 24 other vegetables used.

2. (4)Khlyb was the term used in Bang Chan for an unidentified tree of the family Leguminosae. Its sweet tasting leaves were washed in boiling water to get rid of a bad odor, then were eaten with (4)nam (4)phrig, a chili sauce.

3. Golden and Ralis, 1957, p. 57. The answers to: "Do you drink tea frequently, occasionally, seldom or never?" were: often, 22; occasionally, 68; seldom, 158; never, 85.

and dinner, either meal taking an hour or two to prepare. Snacks might be eaten at any time. Adults often ate just the two principal meals, but children, especially the small ones who were not in school, might eat whenever hungry. The school children often purchased snacks from venders on the school grounds. If food was to be offered to the priests, who went around the village about seven o'clock in the morning, breakfast preparation was begun early, between 4:30 and 5:30 a.m., although family members might eat at various times during the morning: the husband before he went to the field, older children, before school time, babies and small children when the mother had time to feed them, and so on (Appendix A, p. 95). Preparation of supper usually took place sometime between 2:30 and 6 p.m. Whenever possible, family members ate together at the evening meal, but many exceptions were noted.

Rice is the principal item in every Thai meal. In Thai the general term meaning "to eat" is translated literally "to eat rice." All food items are divided into two classes: (1)khaaw rice and "with rice," or (2)kab (3)khaaw. Among the families studied three or four "with-rice" dishes were usually prepared during the day, i.e. for the two main meals, but the number varied in different families, and according to season. One or two of these dishes would usually be "hot" i.e. highly seasoned with fresh or dried chili peppers. Fish was the food item second in importance to rice, but the typical "with rice" preparation, whether hot or mild, contained more than one food item in addition to a variety of spices and flavoring materials (Appendix C, p. 118).

Between meal snacks might be any available leftover food,[1] fruit, or items purchased from a vender.[2] Such snacks were not regarded as meals, however, as no Thai considers that he has eaten a meal unless he has eaten liberally of rice.

The general method of cooking rice was the same throughout the village. The rice was washed two times in water from the canal or fish pond, and was then boiled in a large volume of unsalted water for about 2½ minutes. The rice pot was

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1. Leftover foods from breakfast were eaten later that day with or without reheating. "With-rice" was seldom left over from the evening meal, but rice was frequently kept over night.

2. Deep fat frying of bananas, sweet potato slices and the like was commonly observed, both among venders who sold their wares on the school ground, and those who travelled by boat. This method of cooking was never observed in ordinary home food preparation probably because fat was in relatively short supply.

252 usually covered. A common practice was to remove the cover and stir the rice once, toward the end of the cooking process. When the rice was almost done, surplus cooking water was drained off, and often after a lapse of time, the covered pot was put back onto the fire which had been allowed to die down, for about 6 minutes.[1] Thus the final cooking was essentially a process of steaming. Total cooking time varied from a little over 20 minutes to three-quarters of an hour, depending primarily on the amount of rice cooked. The finished product was moist enough to form a ball when pressed between the fingers. Left-over rice, if not eaten cold as a snack, was reheated by 271 being added to the hot rice at the next meal. Rice water was 272 commonly given to pets if there were any. In 4 families which 365 participated in the dietary study, rice water was given to infants, one 11-year old boy served himself liberally to it, and one adult man was observed to drink rice water before meals.

The many recipes for preparation of "with-rice" dishes may be grouped into two categories, hot and mild. Hot dishes always contain chili and varieties of spices which are hot tasting. One type of hot dish is curry which may be designated as either "hot" or "sour". Thai curry consists chiefly of fish or any available kind of meat, with or without vegetables. To make curry, shrimp paste, chili and spices were pounded thoroughly and then mixed with the meat and condiments and frequently with coconut milk. All were boiled together. Vegetables, if used, were added when the mixture was nearly done. Both vegetables and meat were cut into small pieces and washed before cooking. With the exception of dried chilies and tamarind, foods were not ordinarily left to soak in water. Sour curry differs from hot curry in that it contains less chili and spices and has a mixture of tamarind ((4)ma-(1)dan might be substituted) crushed with water added to it.

The other type of hot dish is (4)nam (3)phrig or chili sauce. It is made of shrimp paste, chili, garlic and other spices ground together in the mortar and then mixed with lime juice, sugar and salt or fishsoy. (4)Nam (3)phrig was always served with either raw or cooked vegetables. One informant commented that (4)nam (3)phrig was the everyday food among the villagers.

Preparation of mild dishes varied. These included canned vegetables, meat or eggs cooked with small amount of fat and a variety of spices and condiments including black pepper but not chili. Fish were sometimes roasted or boiled. Vegetables might be eaten either raw or cooked in coconut milk without seasoning. If vegetables were simply boiled in water,

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1. Median times for a series. In 15 instances cooking time before draining ranged from 18 to 38 minutes and rice was steamed from 2 to 12 minutes after draining.

people did not want to spend much on a baby, therefore they said that if a child ate too much "with-rice" he would be potbellied but thin in the upper part of the body, and that eating eggs would cause dental caries. This grandfather said he believed the truth to be just the opposite, but that goods things were expensive. As an illustration of the idea that thrift was the basis of restriction of "with-rice," one young mother said that an egg was regarded as equivalent to one (1)plaa (1)thuu (fish), and was enough for two persons. Sometimes one egg would serve an entire family. She said that a child would be punished if he ate a whole egg at a meal.

Secondly, Chutima suggests that particular foods were associated with, or suitable for, particular age levels, and a given sex. Data obtained in Bang Chan indicate that certain foods were associated with conditions such as pregnancy, lactation, and the puerperium, with occupation, and even socio-economic levels. For infants, breast milk was considered most suitable. The newborn infant was not usually put to the mother's breast for about 3 days after birth, and if a relative or neighbor did not nurse the infant, the small banana called (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa (see p. 46), raw or baked, was crushed and fed to him before his mother's milk was available. This banana and rice, as (3)khaaw (3)tom and (3)khaaw (2)piag (two watery preparations), sometimes crushed with (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa, were always the first solid foods introduced while the infant was breast fed. No other foods were introduced early. Some infants received fish and egg by 6 months of age, and a majority ate these foods by the time they were a year old. Some two year olds had not yet been given vegetables, and very few infants ate them before they were one year old.

Giving of "holy food"[1] to children suggests concern for strengthening children through dietary as well as other ritual means.

At the other end of life, as old age approached, the diet was supposed to change, ideally to a completely vegetarian one. Since one was soon to face death, one gave up eating meat and even fish, if possible, so as to avoid taking life. It was considered pitiful or wrong for an old person to fish. Being able to go without food was associated with merit. Those who stayed overnight at the temple on the Buddhist holy day went without solid food from before noon until the next morning as the priests did. One elderly woman remarked that when she stayed overnight at the temple she did not feel hungry, and did not eat anything at night, but other women, feeling hungry, drank coffee or milk at night. She

1. See p. 50.

262 883 understood that her merit helped her not to be hungry. Once she asked an eminent layman about eating at night. He said, "If you are not hungry, do not eat. If you feel hungry, it is better to eat. If someone invites you to eat, it is sinful to refuse."

261 Even young adults had a strong revulsion against gluttony. One of the symptoms of a man who went mad and had to be committed to an institution was that "he ate too much." A woman was despised because "she ate in secret. She stole eggs from her husband, sold them in the market, and then spent the cash on food which she ate there, instead of bringing it home." Definitions of a glutton were, "A 'with-rice' eater," or simply as "one who eats alone." These comments highlight the counsels of eating in moderation and in company. On the other hand, a full stomach was valued for "home is where one eats one's fill."

262 542 262 225 At maturity, when farm and other tasks were shared as equals, men and women ate almost the same food. The old prescription against animal food for women was somewhat relaxed, but not entirely. To sustain farmers during the seasons of hard work, however, extra quantities of rice and rice alone, were considered essential. "With-rice" was pleasant but not so necessary. Any shift away from a diet of rice as ordinarily cooked in Bang Chan was construed as a shift either in occupation or in health. For example an eminent citizen who gave up farming took to eating (3)khaaw (3)tom often. This soupy rice, a staple dish for infant feeding, had interesting socio-economic connotations. It was served as a light lunch to cooperative farm-workers to be followed at the day's end by a real meal. It was also "delicate" food, suitable for the sick, for city-people, for those who did not toil with their hands and backs. Consequently, when this man ate this "delicate food" more often, he was consciously or unconsciously serving notice on the community that he was not going to do farm work any more, for (3)khaaw (3)tom could not possibly have sustained a farmer's strength. Caustic villagers hinted that he was putting on airs.

262 863 941 Among conditions in which some change from the usual diet was found were pregnancy, post parturition and lactation. Relatively few foods were generally considered to be tabooed under any of these conditions, but many women preferred to limit intake to "safe" foods if there were any possibility that certain foods might cause harm.

124 Information was obtained from 42 mothers about the food they ate during the post-partum rest period. Two said they ate as usual, but for the remainder, the diet was considerably

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192 1. Literally "beautiful rice." For method of cooking, see p. 33.

curtailed. About half ate soupy rice rather than rice as usually prepared. All ate fish, but over half ate salted fish only, and about one-fourth ate fresh fish only. Rice and fish were apparently the only foods considered safe by all of these mothers. The only other food eaten by half or more of them was bananas of the (4)nam-(4)wa variety, baked bananas being commonly specified. Vegetables, when they were eaten, were usually in (1)kaeang (1)liang, a broth made with dried fish, and reputed to be valuable for milk stimulation. In Bang Chan, the inflorescence of banana was commonly used in making this product, but other vegetables were favored by some. When asked what foods they considered good for a woman who had recently borne a child, no mother knew of any such food, but the list of foods mentioned as being bad for the mother during the post-partum rest period included more than a dozen items mentioned from 1 to 6 times each: egg, sweets, beef, vegetables, meat, pork, poultry, fresh fish, sour tasting foods, jackfruit, mangoes, fruits of all kinds, and glutinous rice.

Fear of illness from eating incompatible foods after child birth was rather strongly expressed by many informants, even by some who knew of Chinese customs which were different from the ancient Thai customs. Some also knew that foods which were customarily forbidden to the woman who had her child at home in the village, were not forbidden at the government health and maternity center at Nimburi.

The 45 mothers who were interviewed during lactation, but after work had been resumed, ate more nearly the usual diet than was the case during the post-partum rest period. As in pregnancy, the mothers apparently had no notion of special dietary needs during lactation, but foods considered undesirable during lactation were mentioned 27 times. The list included 12 kinds of food, and four attributes of food, i.e. sour and hot tastes, fermented foods and raw foods. No food was considered harmful by a majority of mothers, the one which occurred most frequently, jackfruit, being mentioned by 8 only of the 45 informants.

Reasons were seldom advanced for considering various foods unsuitable for mothers or children. During pregnancy, the hot-tasting foods, i.e. those made with chili, were said by one informant to injure the baby's complexion. When asked at what age a child could have adult food, mothers might say at one or two years, but often specified without giving a reason, that the child could have anything but the hot-tasting foods. A reason given for omitting jackfruit from the diet during lactation was that it would cause diarrhea in the baby. One informant said that if a mother nursing a young baby, 1 or 2 months old, ate fresh vegetables, the baby would have diarrhea. Some informants said the "fragrant banana"[1] caused

1. The type of banana most familiar to people in the United States.

Reconstipation in infants, others that it caused diarrhea, whether taken directly by the infant or by the mother.

The belief that eggs would cause dental caries, and should therefore be omitted from children's diets, was expressed by the mother in a poorly nourished family. The possibility that such ideas arose from unwillingness to spend much money on food for a child has already been noted (see p. 42).

Information on food suitable in illness was obtained only incidentally. The Thai did not appear to have a consistent theory as to the cause of disease (Sharp et al. 1956, p. 403), and residents of Bang Chan did not seem to associate any of their illnesses with contaminated food or water. Choice of food in illness was probably associated in some instances with the idea that the body is composed of the four elements - wind, water, fire and earth, and that sickness results from or is a symptom of imbalance in the proportions or arrangement of these elements. Thus the "fragrant banana" and eggs, because of their "cooling effect," were said to be forbidden in measles. A child who was getting measles was restricted to rice and dried fish. In contrast the small, rather flavorless banana, designated (ก)ล้วย (k)uay-(k)una, was said to have "no cooling effect" and was considered an acceptable food in illness, as well as for newborn infants.

In one instance, when a patient had been taken to the hospital with severe diarrhea, a nurse instructed other family members not to eat lime, syrup (see p. 36), or raw vegetables, nor to drink unboiled water. The informant who told us about this offered no reason for these precautions. These foods were simply "forbidden" to the family of a patient with severe diarrhea.

Notions as to what is fortunate or unfortunate may also affect agricultural processes. The many ceremonies associated with culture and use of rice have been mentioned (p. 42). The idea that a papaya tree growing near the house was "unlucky" was attributed to Thai by a young Thai Nisiro in Bang Chan. When we commented on the papaya tree near his front door, he said the papaya tree dies easily and does not like water, but his was planted on high ground. According to this informant few villagers would be willing to grow papaya trees near the house. He considered [illegible] unreasonable, though he said that if specific harm were said to result, he would be concerned about it. The midwife at Khlong Suri Health Center said that she urged each woman who came there for delivery to have more banana, mango and papaya trees planted for home use. Before raising of papayas can be successfully encouraged, however, the idea that papaya trees bring bad luck must be overcome.

higher calorie intake in these periods. In general, the level of calories, phosphorus and thiamine and to some extent the protein varied with the rice consumption. The greater consumption of fish when fish ponds were drained during Round IV, accounted for the relatively higher protein content of the diets of both groups at this time, even though calorie intake was not at its peak. During this period, animal foods provided 45 and 51% of the total protein intake of Groups A and B respectively, whereas for the year as a whole, 37 and 40% of the protein intake of these groups was of animal origin.

The relatively high vitamin A and C intakes of families in Group A, during Round I as compared to other periods, was associated with a higher consumption of green leafy vegetables, and the use of sweet potatoes in quantity by one family. During Round II, families in Group A had few green vegetables, and their average intake of vitamin A was very low. The use of papaya, obtained as a gift, by one family in Group B during Round II raised the average ascorbic acid intake for this group substantially. Better average intakes, by one or both groups, of vitamin A, thiamine, riboflavin and calcium during the first Round, were not such as to provide liberal body stores to be called upon when food supplies of these nutrients were low.

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF DIET AND NUTRITION AMONG RESIDENTS OF BANG CHAN

Attempts to improve nutritional status in Bang Chan should be directed both toward increasing the supply and intake of certain nutrients and toward improvement of sanitary conditions so that intestinal infestation, diarrhea and other related illnesses will not lead to needless loss or increased requirement of nutrients.

Solution of the related problems of disposal of human excreta and provision of a year-round safe water supply are in the province of the sanitary engineer. Intestinal parasitism was common, but little can be done through treatment of individuals so long as the water supply is contaminated. Rain water was preferred for drinking, so provision of adequate and sanitary storage for rain water, coupled with sterilization of water from ponds and canals when rain water is not available, would do much to ensure safe drinking water. The custom of giving mother and infant boiled water only, during the post-partum rest period, provides a starting point for extending use of boiled water to other ages and conditions.

Notes on Meal Service

In a Relatively Prosperous Household

Friday, May 22, 1953

Before breakfast is served, the six-year old girl comes with a piece of jack fruit. SS weighs it and tells her to bring back what she does not eat. Later she comes with hands full of stones (14 of them). She has eaten this much as a "snack" before the regular meal. The grandmother finishes the piece (7 stones) and gives the rind to SS to weigh.

At breakfast the family sits in a circle on the kitchen floor. Each person except the baby has his own bowl of rice before him. In the center of the circle, within reach of all, are four small dishes of "with-rice" which has been prepared for breakfast: sour curry of buffalo meat, curry of (3)khii-(2)leg leaves, bean sprouts and one small fried fish. The mother takes a very small bit of fish on a spoon with rice, and feeds baby. During breakfast baby has 6 bites of rice with fish, nine small spoonfuls of rice with sour curry. The mother herself eats one bite of fish. She takes four spoonfuls of sour curry on plate with rice. This is shared with baby. Mother and baby eat mainly rice, fish and sour curry of buffalo meat, whereas grandmother and the six-year old girl have curry of (3)khii-(2)leg leaves and bean sprouts with their rice.

In a Relatively Poor Household

Wednesday, May 27, 1953

While the mother finishes the meal preparation, the seven-year old girl feeds the baby, first rice with some chopped egg, then rice with the "water" from the egg. The mother remarks that she cannot cook unless someone looks after the baby.

Technique of eating -- A tray with the "with-rice" is set out, also a bowl with water, for rinsing the hand, and a basin or bowl with drinking water. There are spoons in the "with-rice," but these seem to be used for taking some of the juice, which may be eaten directly or put on the individual's bowl of rice. Solid pieces are taken from the serving dish by hand, and mixed with some of the rice, which is then picked up in the right hand. Occasionally the person eating will rinse his hand with water. When finished, each person rinses his bowl (using either water from the bowl nearby, or from the general supply -- in this case the canal). Dishes are turned upside down on the platform near the stove, to dry.

Examples of Notes on Food Eaten by Individuals

Household 16 July 23, 1953

Family members observed at meal-time: All, as they ate breakfast at various times.

Notes re kind and amount of food eaten:

Breakfast: Girl aged 12 and boy aged 7 start eating at 7:20 a.m. Each one has one dish of rice and stew of swamp cabbage and salt fish for breakfast. They are through eating at 7:40 a.m.

9:10-9:30 a.m. Father eats two dishes of rice with stew and mother does also.

10:10-10:20 a.m. Son, 18 yrs. old, returns home and eats two dishes of rice mixed with stew.

10:40-11:00 a.m. Sons aged 25 and 20 have breakfast. The older one eats two dishes of rice but the younger one eats three.

11:30 a.m. Daughter aged 22 has two dishes of rice and stew. She is through eating at 11:45 a.m.

Household 67 May 26, 1953

Family members observed at meal-time: Mother and children.

Notes re kind and amount of food eaten:

Dinner: Girl aged 7 seems to be fond of fish but dislikes vegetables. Boy aged 11 likes to eat the vegetables from the curry. Each one eats two dishes of rice mixed with small amount of hot curry (5:02-5:17 p.m.)

(sic) One year old baby is fed by his older sister, eating two spoonfuls of rice mixed with boiled coconut milk. Whenever he refuses to eat, his mother nurses him.

5:40-5:55 p.m. Mother eats 3 dishes of rice with 2 dishes of hot curry, containing a small amount of fish.

Father begins eating at dark so we can't see him.

SUMMARY

Information on health, care, and diet of mothers and small children in Bang Chan, Thailand, was obtained primarily by interview, although some direct observations were made. In general, three areas of inquiry were included in this study: 1) clinical history, especially such information as might have a bearing on the nutrition and health of the child, 2) food intake at various periods, and 3) cultural customs and ideas of interest in relation to the Cornell Thailand Project.

In all, 66 mothers of young children were interviewed. Information on diet during pregnancy, postpartum, and lactation was obtained from women who were either in the stage under discussion or had only recently passed through it.

The description of child feeding practices is based on records obtained concerning 57 children from birth to two years of age, a majority of whom were visited from 5 to 7 times.

Information on growth is height and weight is based on observations made on 71 children, most of whom were weighed and measured 6 or 7 times. Observations were made for 30 of these children both before and after weaning.

During pregnancy most women in Bang Chan continued to eat as usual. A few expressed cravings for certain foods, and a minority thought some kinds of food should not be eaten during pregnancy.

During the postpartum rest period most women ate a very restricted diet. Rice and fish, with salt, were the foods considered by all informants to be appropriate for this period.

As a rule, diet during lactation, after the mother resumed her usual work, was the customary family diet. A minority of informants mentioned foods which should not be eaten by a nursing mother.

Evidence of the need to improve diets in this region was provided by the occasional occurrence of beriberi or the history of beriberi among mothers as well as by medical inspection and family dietary studies.

Breast feeding was the rule in Bang Chan. For a majority of infants observed, breast feeding was continued into the second year, and some were breast fed for more than two years. Few received animal milk after weaning.

A small, rather flavorless banana was given to young babies, sometimes before they were put to the breast. This type of banana and soupy rice were the only supplementary foods given before 6 months of age. Protein-rich foods, chiefly fish and egg, were generally introduced in small amounts during the second half of the first year. Few infants were given vegetables before one year of age, and even then none had them daily. At two years of age, some children had not yet been given green vegetables. Late introduction of vegetables into the child's diet may be due to the fact that vegetables were often prepared as hot curries which were considered unsuitable for young children. 853

A child was usually allowed foods commonly eaten by adults by the time he was weaned, although a few informants specified that the child could have anything but "hot tasting" foods, i.e. foods containing chili. A minority of informants mentioned other foods as not good for younger babies.

Except for dietary restrictions while the mother was lying by the fire, postpartum, no well established dietary taboos connected with the feeding of mothers or babies were encountered. The concept that a good choice of food is important to the health of both mother and child seemed to be entirely lacking. 846 853 262

Many of the young children in Bang Chan failed to gain, or even lost, weight in the intervals between observations. Almost all infants appeared to gain steadily up to 6 months of age, but stationary weight or weight loss for periods of from 1 to 7 months was observed in most children at some time. These periods were noted more frequently among children from 2 to 3 years old than among younger ones. Such experiences were not more common after weaning than at other times, but the cause or causes of growth failure could not be determined from the information available. 145

Some approaches to improvement in the diet of Thai mothers and children are suggested. Improvement in the diets of mothers and small children would probably parallel any improvement in the general family dietary, since food is prepared at one time for all members of the family. 252

births, until with the seventh child it might be dispensed with altogether without harm. In Bang Chan women who observed (2)jun (1)faj rested for an odd number of days, from 5 to 15 in this series. Seven or 9 days was most common. An odd number of days was considered good; an even number, bad. A wood fire was customary, although in 2 instances a charcoal brazier was used. One woman lay near a charcoal brazier and used a hot ashes chamber[1] also. With one exception (a non-Thai), even those who did not lie by the fire, but who used the hot ashes chamber, rested an odd number of days.

The traditional ideas on which the custom of lying by the fire was based were described in the Bangkok Calendar (Bradley, 1865):

> "The Siamese theory in regard to the part, which external and internal fire plays in the functions of life and health, is made to work powerfully in these circumstances. It teaches that there is, at such times, a diminution of heat in the body, and consequent liability to stagnation of the blood, which if not guarded against by fire, will leave the uterus flabby and enlarged, bad humors in the circulation, a consequent weak state of the stomach, resulting in the secretion of too little milk, and that of a bad quality for the child, all of which will be likely to be followed by a host of other fearful maladies to both mother and child."

The author, however, attributed deficiency in milk production to the practice of lying by the fire:

> "Now it is very remarkable that these last sequences, which are guarded against at so much expense of ease and comfort by the custom, are positively and directly brought about by following it. The mothers have but little milk for their babes during the month, and that of a poor quality. Consequently the attendant nurses have to feed them from the hour of their birth with honey, rice-water, and the pulp of soft bananas. This is their almost entire living for the first two or three days, and a large portion of it during the first month."

Of the 5 women we interviewed who did not lie by the fire, 3 used a hot ashes chamber regularly throughout the postpartum rest period, one used it occasionally, and one used both the hot ashes chamber and a hot water bottle. This latter woman

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1. A small metal box in which sticks of fuel were burned. The box was wrapped in cloth and placed on the mother's abdomen.

had lived outside the village and returned to the home of her mother, a traditional midwife, for delivery. Eight other women who were delivered by the same midwife observed (2)juu (1)faj. Two of these 5 women who, by using a hot ashes chamber, ventured to take a step away from the tradional practice were non-Thai (Chinese and Mon). Another, a woman aged 40, was having her 12th child. When we interviewed this woman during pregnancy she said she expected to lie by the fire, but when we visited her after the baby was born she was using a hot ashes chamber. The wife of one of the school teachers, who had observed the traditional (2)juu (1)faj with her first 5 children, said she found "the new way" more convenient; but by using it she had incurred the displeasure of some of the older women, especially her grandmother.

Activity and bathing. - Activity appeared to be rather limited during the postpartum period, but the respondents said they could move about to get some things for themselves, to eliminate, etc. We saw women sit up on the plank which served as bed to nurse the baby, change the cloths under it, and help to weigh and measure it (i.e. to assist us). Because of the warmth of the fire, and to avoid the smoke, the women turned from side to side frequently.

Bathing was customary during the postpartum rest period. For the first three days this was one of the midwife's responsibilities in care of the mother (Hanks, 1959).

Medications. - The 46 women who told us about medications used after childbirth had a total of 63 medicines; i.e., many used more than one kind. With one exception these were taken internally, and all preparations taken internally were mixed with alcoholic liquor (28% alcohol). Of the medications used, only one was prescribed from the Health Center, 4 were home remedies, and the remainder commercial preparations.[1] Two popular brands, snake brand and (1)jaa (1)dauaung, accounted for 60 per cent of the total.

Milk stimulation. - As already noted, lying by the fire was thought to be favorable to milk secretion. One woman commented that, since she was not a good milk producer, she must lie by the fire more than 7 days. Six women spoke of the hot water which they drank during the postpartum rest period as good for milk production. A large majority of the women mentioned taking (1)kaeaeng (1)liang, a broth made with dried

1. According to the label, some of these were supposed to be useful for menstrual and other complaints, as well as for childbirth. Some were even recommended for treatment of various disorders in men as well as women.

353 fish and vegetables, when asked if they did anything to stimulate milk secretion. Other preparations, each mentioned once or twice, were cobra curry, fried (3)kuj (1)chaaj flower, pork soup with (3)kuj (1)chaaj leaves, dried peas and peppers cooked in palm sugar syrup. Some of the medications used were reputed to stimulate milk flow. Three women spoke of peacock brand medicine and one of a Chinese medicine in this connection. With respect to the Chinese medicine, another informant said she took it "to remove the serum which interferes with milk secretion." One midwife put herbs on her daughter's breast and expressed and discarded the "early milk" which was considered bad for the baby. No association appeared to be made between putting the baby to the breast and stimulation of milk flow.

Drinking water. - Information concerning sources of drinking water used by the mothers was obtained from 46 mothers of young babies. Of these, 20 used canal water, 23 rain water, and 3 used either one. In general, there was a relation between season and source of water used. Most of the mothers whose babies were born between March and October drank rain water, whereas from November to February a majority drank canal water. Some families had enough water jars to preserve rain water for much of the dry season, whereas others had few or no jars and, therefore, could save only small amounts of rain water on a day-to-day basis. In all instances, the water, whatever its source, was boiled for the mother during the postpartum rest period. Forty-six women said they drank the water hot; one said it was warm. One popular traditional midwife said, however, that if the mother had her baby in the hospital, use of boiled water for drinking and bathing was not necessary.

CONDITION AND CARE OF BABIES AT BIRTH AND IN EARLY INFANCY

All information to be reported concerning condition and care of babies at birth and in early infancy relates to infants who were under one year of age when first visited. Thirty infants were seen when they were under 3 months of age.

Condition at Birth.

The condition of the baby at birth was generally described as satisfactory. One infant who died on the third day, before we saw the mother, was said to have cyanosis, failed to cry at birth, and needed to be "helped" for about one-half hour afterward. Three infants had congenital defects: umbilical hernia, inguinal hernia on the right side, and hemangioma on the right groin.

854 278 medications were taken internally, sometimes being painted on the tongue with a feather; but two preparations were applied over the abdomen. Some of the medications were described as "stomach medicine" or "to prevent flatulence." Five different kinds of proprietary medicine were given to 18 infants. In 13 instances, the medicine given was clearly homemade and included as major ingredients items such as flattery fruit, (3)luug (1)yaauau; cobra oil; horseshoe crab; and buffalo skin. The nature of the medicine, whether homemade or proprietary, was not clear in 8 instances. Usually medicine for infants was mixed with honey, but in 2 cases, alcoholic liquor was used as it customarily was for the mother.

Six newborn infants in this series were given no medicine. One of these was born at the Health Center. One of the other 3 infants delivered at the Health Center was given homemade medicine later, and no information was obtained on the third. Eye prophylaxis[1] was probably routine at the Health Center, as, in 2 of the 3 cases delivered there, informants knew that drops had been put in the infant's eyes. Traditional midwives, however, did nothing of this sort.

Water for Drinking and Bathing.

853 312 For the newborn infant as well as for the mother, water for drinking and bathing was boiled and was usually used while hot, often being kept warm in a vacuum bottle. Either rain water or canal water might be used depending on what was available at a given season. The water was dribbled from an adult's fingers into the infant's mouth. When the mother was no longer lying by the fire, boiled water was not considered essential for the infant. Nevertheless, over half the infants seen from this time up to 3 months of age were being given boiled water to drink. After 6 months of age this was rare.

853 855 312 In one instance, during the time when a younger sibling received boiled canal water, a 21-month old child was given boiled water also. At the time of a later visit both of these children were drinking unboiled canal water. In another case an orphaned boy's formula was made up with boiled water, although

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[744] [751] [731] 1. Vaccination for smallpox was the only modern preventive treatment which we knew to be used in Bang Chan in the absence of an epidemic. Since a severe epidemic of smallpox with many deaths ten years previously, health officers came to the Bang Chan elementary school once a year to vaccinate children, and other residents of the community could be vaccinated at this time. Four of the young children whom we visited periodically were vaccinated, at 4 months, 8 months, 1 and 2 years of age, respectively.

he was given untreated canal water to drink. One young mother gave boiled water to her 15-month old infant for a few days when the baby had diarrhea though on questioning she said no one had told her to do this. (The fact that boiled water was used for newborn infants and their mothers may have suggested the procedure to her.) Among the infants who received boiled water for a longer time than most, 4 were children of school teachers.

Early Feeding Practices.

Breast feeding was usual in Bang Chan, but most babies were not put to the breast until the second or third day or even later (Table 1).

Table 1. INITIATION OF BREAST FEEDING BY THE MOTHER FOR 38 INFANTS IN BANG CHAN.

Post natal day	Number of infants
1	1
2	11
3	22
4	2
5	2

As previously noted, no association was apparently made between putting the baby to the breast and establishing the milk flow.

In this series, 9 infants were nursed by a relative or neighbor one or more times before the mother's milk supply was established. Five of these infants had breast milk on the first day, 2 on the second, and 2 on the third. Choice of a woman who was a good milk producer to give the infant its first milk feeding was considered auspicious. The procedure was primarily of ritual significance.

Three infants were given cow's milk (diluted, condensed, or dried milk) before being put to the breast.

About half the infants received no food other than boiled water and milk while the mother lay by the fire. Honey was given with boiled water to about one-third of the infants, and about one-fourth had crushed banana, sometimes in addition to honey. When given, these foods were started before breast feeding was established. Either raw or baked, a small, rather flavorless variety of banana, (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)wa, was used. We observed a grandmother dipping her fingers into a bowl of water, then crushing a bit of banana between them and poking this into the infant's mouth. The infant was given as much as he would take, usually about half of a banana at one time. Banana might be fed from one to three times per day.

Bang Chan. The only other woman in this series who did not restrict her diet postpartum was the wife of a school teacher. She said that women were supposed to eat rice with salt or salt fish at this time but that she ate all kinds of food.

As a rule, a woman's diet was considerably curtailed during the postpartum rest period. Rice and fish were apparently the only foods considered safe by all of the mothers interviewed. About half ate fish, but over half of these ate salted fish only, and about one-fourth ate fresh fish only. The only other food eaten by half or more of the mothers was banana of the (4)nam-(4)waa variety, baked bananas being commonly specified. Vegetables, when they were eaten, were usually in (1)kaeaeng (1)liang, a broth made with dried fish and reputed to be valuable for milk stimulation. In Bang Chan, the inflorescence of banana was commonly used in making this product, but other vegetables were favored by some.

When asked what foods they considered good for a woman who had recently borne a child no mother knew of any such food, but the list of foods mentioned as being bad for the mother during the postpartum rest period included more than a dozen items mentioned from 1 to 4 times each: egg, sweets, beef, vegetables, meat, pork, poultry, fresh fish, sour tasting foods, jackfruit, mangoes, fruits of all kinds, and glutinous rice.

Fear of illness from eating incompatible foods after childbirth was rather strongly expressed by many informants, even by some who knew of Chinese customs which were different from the ancient Thai customs. Some also knew that foods which were customarily forbidden to the woman who had her child at home were not forbidden at the government Health and Maternity Center at Minburi.

Diet During Lactation.

The term "diet during lactation" as used here refers to foods eaten when the mother had resumed her usual work following the postpartum rest period. The majority of nursing infants were under a year old when the records were obtained. All of the mothers ate rice everyday cooked in the usual way, and almost all had fresh, dried, or salted fish. About two-thirds had vegetables of some kind daily, but 6 women reported that vegetables of any kind were eaten only occasionally. Coconut, which as coconut milk is the basis for many curries, was used often. One nursing mother ate bananas daily, and about two-thirds of these women had bananas either occasionally or frequently. Only five women mentioned eating other fruits.

Three reported eating eggs daily,[1] and about two-thirds of the women had them either occasionally or frequently. Animal foods other than fish or eggs were eaten infrequently by most nursing women.

Our questions about ideas concerning foods during lactation did not uncover any firmly established traditional behavior. No food was considered harmful by a majority of informants. In response to the question as to foods which should not be eaten during lactation, however, 12 kinds of food and 4 attributes of food (sour, hot tasting, raw, fermented) were mentioned 27 times. Jackfruit, the item which occurred most frequently, was mentioned 8 times, corn, 3 times, swamp cabbage and pork, twice each; other items such as legumes, beef, poultry, egg, pineapple, and chico, once only. When asked if they disliked any foods at this time 4 women mentioned a dislike for vegetables. One mother said that cooked foods (in contrast to raw ones) were good for a lactating woman. Our question about foods craved during lactation brought little response.

To sum up, the mother's diet during pregnancy and lactation often approximated the usual diet in Bang Chan. A few women said they craved certain foods during pregnancy and some mentioned foods disliked at that time. A number of food items and attributes of food were considered by some informants to be undesirable during pregnancy and lactation, but no item was mentioned so frequently as to be considered tabooed. During the postpartum rest period, however, a greatly restricted diet was common. Mothers apparently had no idea of special dietary needs during pregnancy or lactation.

FEEDING PRACTICES FROM BIRTH TO TWO YEARS OF AGE

This description of feeding practices is based on 256 interviews concerning 57 infants and small children. The majority of them were visited from 5 to 7 times each. Since, insofar as possible, we saw the babies at 3-month intervals, changes in feeding practices will be described by 3-month periods or multiples thereof. If each visit to a child is considered as unity, the 8 age groups from birth to two years included from 17 to 41 children each with 6 of the age groups including more than 30 individuals. Thus the data obtained may be assumed to provide a reasonable picture of baby feeding practices in Bang Chan, 1952-54, and of significant deviations therefrom.

1. This does not mean that the mother ate a whole egg at one meal. Frequently one or two eggs might be used to prepare food for the entire family.

Breast Feeding.

853 184 As previously noted breast feeding was the rule. One child in this series, whose mother died when he was 5 days old, was never breast fed but was given canned or dried milk[1] diluted with boiled water. Another infant, whose mother died of tuberculosis when the child was a year old, was weaned at 5 months because of the mother's illness. A few breast fed infants were given cow's milk preparations at times. A child whose mother was a vender had cow's milk daily during the mother's absence; in another instance, cow's milk was given a baby when the mother was at work in a distant field. Whenever practicable, however, mothers apparently returned to the house to nurse the baby or had it brought to the field to be fed. One woman teacher who had a baby during the school year returned to her nearby home at recess to nurse the infant. Two mothers said they gave their infants some cow's milk because they thought their own milk supply was not adequate. One of these was the vender previously mentioned.

Supplementary Feeding of Infants.

853 Infant feeding during the mother's postpartum rest period has already been described (p. 12). After (2)juu (1)faj no mention was made of giving honey in water to babies, but up to about one month of age the only other change in practice which occurred was that two or three mothers started to mix a little rice with the crushed or baked banana which had been started previously. As during the mother's rest period, however, a minority of infants were being given banana, i.e. most of them had nothing except water in addition to mother's milk.

By 3 months of age about half of the infants were being given banana, (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa, and mixing rice with it was more common. A few infants were being given rice as such. In most instances, for infants up to 6 months of age, rice was cooked with extra water and mashed, (3)khaav (2)piag, a preparation which was considered baby food. Rice water with sugar was added to the soupy rice for one infant less than 3 months old

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[234] 1. No fresh milk of any kind was available in Bang Chan. Water buffaloes were ordinarily not bred in the village and use of buffalo milk was unheard of. Among the light refreshments which could be bought at village stores, however, were coffee with condensed milk and diluted canned milk. Storekeepers stocked imported canned and dried milk including some brands designed for infant feeding. Directions for use were not in Thai, however, and the preparations actually fed to infants were often diluted more than recommended.

but additions of rice water, coconut milk, and salt[1] were more common from 3 to 6 months. A few infants less than 6 months old were given rice from the family pot cooked in the usual manner.[2] No other foods were introduced before 6 months of age.

A majority of infants from 6 to 8 1/2 months[3] of age were given ordinary rice, although for some, excess water was not drained off and special washed soupy rice was still given to others. Fishsoy, (4)nam (1)plaa, might be added for both salt and flavor. Several mothers said that when the baby had teeth he could begin to eat ordinary rice. At this time also the infant was given some other items which were considered as adult food (Table 2).[4] A few were fed protein-rich foods, i.e. fresh, dried, or salted fish, egg, meat, or poultry, between the sixth and ninth months. One child in this age group was given banana other than (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa (kind not specified), and four infants had fruit other than banana frequently or occasionally. Orange, mango, guava, pineapple, and rambutan were mentioned according to season. Some kinds of (3)kha-(5)nom, which included purchased crackers, biscuits, or cookies as well as some sweet items which we would call desserts,[4] were given also, at least occasionally, to many babies over 6 months of age.

Among infants from 9 to 11 1/2 months of age increasing use of protein-rich foods, primarily fish and egg, was noted. Fruits other than the small (4)nam-(4)waa banana and (3)kha-(5)nom were also given to more infants. A few were given vegetables before one year of age, but none had them daily (Table 3).

Diet During the Second Year of Life.

For most of these babies breast feeding was continued into the second year. By this time almost all were given ordinary rice, and more than half had fish daily with fresh fish being fed more often than dried or salted fish. A few babies between

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1. In Thailand rice is not salted during cooking.

2. See (3)khaaw (5)suaj, glossary p. 81.

3. The nearest half month marked the dividing point between age groups. Thus an infant 8 months 20 days old would be considered as 8 1/2 months old and one 8 months 23 days old would be considered as 9 months old.

4. Neither such (3)kha-(5)nom nor fruit were included in the usual family meals, but school children often bought them as snacks to eat at noon recess (Hauck et al., 1956; Hauck and Hanks, 1959).

Table 2. Food Intake Other Than Milk of 32 Infants From 6 to 8 1/2 months Old.[1]

No. of Infants	No. of Food Items	Number of Infants Fed Food Items Other Than Milk: Rice	Banana	Other Fruit	Fish	Egg, Meat or Poultry	(2)Kha-(3)nom
1	0						
10	1	9					1
10	2	10	10				
4	3	4	4			3	1
3	4	3	3		3	3	2
1	5	1	1	1	1		1
3	6	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total	D[2]	29	9		3	4	2
32	F	1	6	1	1	3	3
	O		5	3	3	1	3

1. The nearest half month marked the dividing point between age groups. Thus an infant 8 months 20 days old would be considered as 8 1/2 months old and one 8 months 25 days old would be considered as 9 months old.

2. D = daily, F = frequently (at least once a week), and O = occasionally (at longer intervals).

12 and 14 1/2 months of age were given egg daily, and almost all had egg either frequently or occasionally. About half the babies of this age were fed poultry or meat occasionally, but neither of these items was common in the family diets observed in Bang Chan (Hauck et al., 1958; Hauck and Hanks, 1959). At this age only 1 of 41 babies was given green vegetables daily, and less than one-third of them had vegetables of any kind even occasionally (Table 4).

As the children grew older they had vegetables more frequently, so that between 15 and 20 1/2 months of age almost half of the children ate vegetables at least occasionally (Tables 5 - 8). A few two-year old children had never had green vegetables; for many, even at this age or older, vegetables of any kind were occasional rather than frequent items of diet.

Of the 23 children between 21 and 24 1/2 months of age for whom we had records, 5 were still being breast fed, and one (the orphaned child) continued to receive imported cow's milk diluted with boiled water. All drank untreated canal or rain water according to the available supply. All were fed rice cooked in the usual manner, but one still had occupy unbrained rice at times.

[1] [See p. 20 - Hauck et al.] [2] [See p. 21-22 - Hauck et al.]

Table 3. Food Intake Other Than Milk and Rice of 39 Infants From 9 to 11 1/2 months Old.[1]

No. of Infants	No. of Food Items		Number of Infants Fed Food Items Other Than Milk and Rice				
			Fish	Egg, Meat or Poultry	Fruit	Vegetable	(2)Eha-(3)ems
2	0						
3	1				1		2
5	2			2	4		4
12	3		11	6	11		8
13	4		13	12	13	1	13
4	5		4	4	4	4	4
Total		D[2]	16	7	5		7
39		F	9	7	13	2	10
		O	3	10	15	3	14

1. The nearest half month marked the dividing point between age groups. Thus an infant 11 months 20 days old would be considered as 11 1/2 months old and one 11 months 23 days old would be considered as 12 months old.

2. D = daily, F = frequently (at least once a week), and O = occasionally (at longer intervals).

Table 4. Food Intake Other Than Milk and Rice of 39 Babies[1] From 12 to 14 1/2 months Old.[2]

No. of Infants	No. of Food Items		Number of Infants Fed Food Items Other Than Milk and Rice				
			Fish	Egg, Meat or Poultry	Fruit	Vegetable	(2)Eha-(3)ems
2	2			1	1		1
6	3		6	5	6		5
21	4		21	20	19	4	20
7	5		7	7	7	7	7
Total		D[3]	24	4	5	1	14
39		F	13	19	19	3	12
		O	1	10	11	8	8

1. Two additional babies in this age group were still on an all milk diet.

2. See Footnote 1, Table 3.

3. See Footnote 2, Table 3.

342 In Bang Chan infants less than a year old were seldom weaned. Of 3 such cases we encountered, the mother of one was ill with tuberculosis, and the other two mothers were again pregnant. Common answers to the question, "When should a baby be weaned?", were: "When it is a year old", or "At 1 1/2 years", or "When the mother is pregnant again." Mothers commonly nursed one infant until 3 to 7 months pregnant with the next. More than half of the children who were nursed longer than 18 months had no younger sibling during the period of this study.

Of 32 mothers who described the weaning procedure, 13 painted the nipples with boraphod or other bitter substance (lime or aloe), but an equal number said they did nothing. Six mothers gave other food instead of breast milk. In 4 cases cow's milk[1] was given; in one, bananas and (3)kha-(3)nom; and in one instance the food substitute was not specified.

Weaning in Bang Chan usually meant the end of milk feeding, but 3 babies in this series were given cow's milk feedings after weaning. These included the infant who was weaned at 8 months because of the mother's illness and two others who were weaned because of a pregnancy. The child who had been given cow's milk when the mother was away feeding continued to have cow's milk at night, after weaning.

Beliefs About Foods for Babies.

• 343 Foods "Good For" Or "Not Good For" Babies. - In addition to
335 asking what foods were given the baby, we asked mothers (or
341 other informants) what foods they considered "good for" or "not good for" the baby. Informants were not prompted by asking about specific foods. The most usual answer was that the informant did not know or did not consider any food either especially suitable or unsuitable. Only 6 informants mentioned foods considered good for the baby (Table 12).[2] One of these named 3 such foods: egg, fish, and vegetables.

A larger number of informants reported that one or more foods were not good for a baby, but in a majority of instances (30 of 50 replies) the informant did not mention any food in this category. In all, 14 foods and 3 characteristics of foods

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1. No fresh milk of any kind was available in Bang Chan. Water buffaloes were ordinarily not bred in the village, and use of buffalo milk was unheard of. Among the light refreshments which could be bought at village stores, however, were coffee with condensed milk and diluted canned milk. Storekeepers stocked imported canned and dried milk including some brands designed for infant feeding. Directions for use were not in Thai, however, and the preparations actually fed to infants were often diluted more than recommended.

2 [see p. 14 - Hauck]

("hot tasting" and "hard") were mentioned 39 times (Table 13) with jackfruit and chico being mentioned in connection with the same baby at both 6 and 9 months of age.

Table 12. Foods Considered Good for Babies.

Food	Number of Informants	Age of Baby at Time of Inquiry (months)
Rice	3	3, 13, 36
Egg	2	6, 15
Fish	2	15, 16
Vegetables	1	15

There was no indication that any food was considered harmful by most mothers. Although the list of foods considered not good for babies was considerably longer than the list of foods considered good for them, the item which occurred most frequently, jackfruit, was mentioned by only 6 informants. Eggs, vegetables, and fish were considered by some as good for the baby and by others as harmful (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 13. Foods Considered Not Good for Babies.

Food	Number of Informants	Age of Baby at Time of Inquiry (months)
Jackfruit	6	3, 6 and 9[1], 11, 18, 21, 22
"Hot tasting" foods	6	13, 14, 15, 24, 24, 27
Chico	4	6 and 9[1], 11, 21, 22
Egg	3	7, 11, 27
Sugar	3	9, 11, 13
Banana (ordinary "fragrant" type)	2	21, 22
Hard things	2	8, 10
Glutinous rice	2	9, 11
Fish	1	9
Fresh fish	1	15
Vegetables	1	6
Mango	1	6
Raw banana	1	6
Corn	1	18
Guava	1	18
Orange	1	15
"Ice"[2]	1	36

1. Mentioned for same child at both 6 and 9 months.

2. Either a frozen syrup or syrup over shaved ice.

262 853 Reasons were seldom advanced for considering certain foods unsuitable for mothers or children. During pregnancy the hot-tasting foods, i.e. those made with chili, were said by one 262 informant to injure the baby's complexion. When asked at what 855 age a child could have adult food, mothers might say at one or 853 two years but often specified, without giving a reason, that they could have anything but the "hot-tasting" foods (foods seasoned with chili). Two mothers said the child could have "hot tastes" at one year, whereas one said not until the child was 3 years old. A majority did not specifically mention hot tasting foods either to include or to exclude them.

853 A reason given for omitting jackfruit from the diet during lactation was that it would cause diarrhea in the baby. One informant said that if a mother nursing a young baby 1 or 2 months old ate fresh vegetables, the baby would have diarrhea. Some informants said the "fragrant banana", (3)kluaj (5)hauaum[1], caused constipation in infants, others that it caused diarrhea, whether eaten directly by the infant or by the mother.

853 The belief that eggs would cause dental caries and should 262 therefore be omitted from children's diets was expressed by the 853 mother in a poorly nourished family of low economic status.
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862 Opinions varied as to when children could be given "adult food". This was often, but not always, the age considered appropriate for weaning. As the question was worded it apparently implied that the child "could eat food as prepared for adults in the family" and did not necessarily exclude breast feeding, since children who "could have adult food" might still be nursing. The age at which a child could have adult food was sometimes related to stage of maturity as "when he can sit", "when he has teeth", or "when he can say (1)plaa (fish)".

262 Traditional and Modern Concepts of Rice Versus "With-Rice" in the Diet. - Rice is not only the basis of the adult diet in Thailand, but it has traditionally been regarded as the strength giving food par excellence. A portion of Chutima's (1939) description of the "old system" of diet follows:

> "Our children and young women are forbidden by ancient doctrine from eating any fair quantity of animal products, but must eat plenty of rice which is considered as the only true food, the others being only appetizers. And to stimulate the palate, large quantities of hot and irritating condiments (chilies and peppers principally) are consumed at every meal.

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1. The type of banana most familiar to people in the U.S.A.

Some vegetables, boiled or raw, are also included, but in small quantities in spite of abundant supply.[1]

Note that not only has rice been considered much more important as food than "with-rice", but that the diet was more limited for children and young women than for men. The Food and Drug Division of the Ministry of Public Health in Thailand has been trying to encourage people to eat more "with-rice" and less rice. The few comments we heard in relation to rice versus "with-rice" illustrate both the old and the new ideas. One informant stated that only rice can make children fat and that the "hot tasting" foods help them to eat more rice. Another commented that rice makes children strong, and "with-rice" makes them weak. Another, a mother of seven children, said that if babies were given too much "with-rice" they would be potbellied. The more modern view was expressed by an informant who said that a certain child ate only rice with fish and was weak. He refused vegetables and bananas. One affluent farmer, an elderly man whose orphaned grandchild was being raised on cow's milk[2], expressed the opinion that the ancient belief was based on thrift. He said that thrifty people did not want to spend much on a baby, therefore, they said that if a child ate too much "with-rice" he would be potbellied but this is the upper part of the body and that eating eggs would cause dental caries. This grandfather said that he believed the truth to be just the opposite, but that good things were expensive. As an illustration of the idea that thrift was the basis of restriction of "with-rice", one young mother said that an egg was regarded as equivalent to one (1)plaa (1)thuu (a fish), and was enough for two persons. Sometimes one egg would serve an entire family. She said that a child would be punished if he ate a whole egg at a meal.

Summary of Infant Feeding Practices in Song Chan with Some Suggestions for Improvement.

To sum up the information obtained on baby feeding in Song Chan, breast feeding was the rule. Some babies were nursed for two years or longer although about two-thirds of those we observed through the weaning period had been weaned by 18 or 19 months of age. Aside from honey which was given with medicine or hot water to newborn babies for a few days only, crushed banana of the (4)nam-(4)waa variety was usually the earliest dietary supplement. By 3 months of age about half the infants were being given bananas, sometimes crushed with rice. Between

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1. In Thai the general term meaning "to eat" is translated literally "to eat rice." Food items are divided into two classes: rice and "with-rice."

2. See Footnote, page 25.

• 6 and 8 months soupy rice was a common addition to the infant's diet, and after the first teeth appeared many had rice from the family pot. Between 8 and 9 months, also, fish was given regularly to many babies and egg at least occasionally. Crackers, cookies, and various items designated as (3)kho-(3)nom were frequent additions at this age.

Seasonal fruit such as mango and orange was given to some infants from 6 months on, but most children had fruits other than the (4)nam-(4)wa banana infrequently even at two years of age. As the feeding of rice increased, banana was given less often, so that for the 2-year old child even banana was eaten only occasionally. A minority of babies were fed vegetables by one year of age, and some had not begun to eat them by two years. Only about half the children from 2 to 4 1/2 years old had vegetables frequently.

Avoidance of hot tastes, rather than reluctance to give vegetables, may have been responsible for late introduction of vegetables into the diet of many children. In Bang Chan vegetables were often combined with other foods, as in curries. They were usually added toward the end of the cooking time after the mixture had been seasoned. Vegetables from such a "hot dish" would not be offered to a small child unless the parents considered him old enough to eat "hot-tasting" foods. Among the mild "with-rice" dishes were vegetables pecked with a small amount of fat and seasonings other than chili, as well as vegetables cooked in coconut milk or in water (Hauck et al., 1955; Hauck and Banks, 1958). In this connection the suggestion of a Thai counselor that one might encourage eating more vegetables by discouraging the use of "hot" dishes seems promising, since a larger amount of mild than of "hot" "with-rice" food is eaten at one time. To promote more frequent, and earlier, feeding of vegetables to babies, one would need to encourage either more frequent preparation of mild "with-rice" dishes containing vegetables or special preparations of vegetables for the baby. The latter is rather impractical when foods are cooked one at a time over the same fire as in Bang Chan.

Perhaps one reason why most infants in Bang Chan had fish daily after 6 or 7 months of age is that in making curries fish was often cooked in a little fat or coconut milk before seasonings were added. Thus, a little fish could then be set aside for the baby before chili and other spices went into the pot. (Note, also, that rice and fish were the foods considered safe to eat during (3)jom (1)faj by all mothers interviewed). Changes in food preparation suggested for improvement of the family diet in general (Hauck, 1956) could automatically help to improve the feeding of young children who are gradually introduced to adult foods. At the same time, a better family diet would probably help to improve the quality and quantity of mother's milk, since during lactation mothers tended to eat as usual. In deciding whether the more effective approach would be through teaching